

Message Text

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MBFR-03 ACDA-19 IO-12 SAJ-01 GAC-01 NIC-01 EB-11

RSR-01 /141 W

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R 162000 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5086

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 07046

HAMBURG FOR AMBASSADOR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, UR, SENV

SUBJECT: BONN ON THE EVE OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT

REF: BONN 5292

1. SUMMARY: PREPARATIONS FOR BREZHNEV' S VISIT TO THE
FRG (MAY 18-22) ARE NOW PRACTICALLY COMPLETE. THREE OF
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THE FIVE PENDING BILATERAL AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN INITIALED IN THE PAST FEW DAYS AND WILL BE FORMALLY SIGNED DURING THE VISIT, AND ONE OTHER AGREEMENT IS CLOSE TO COMPLETION. THE BERLIN ISSUE WHICH HAS SO BURDENED THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE VISIT HAS THUS BEEN TEMPORARILY RESOLVED, ALTHOUGH THERE IS A RESIDUE OF BITTERNESS OVER THE WAY IT WAS HANDLED ON BOTH SIDES. THE FRG LEADERSHIP SEEMS INTENT ON MAKING THE VISIT, THE FIRST BY A SOVIET PARTY LEADER TO THE FRG, A SUCCESS, AND IS TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE STRONG SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT BREZHNEV'S SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

2. FRG FONOFF SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT THE PLANS FOR THE BREZHNEV VISIT ARE PRACTICALLY COMPLETE. THE ORIGINAL PROGRAM PROPOSED BY THE FRG, INVOLVING SEVERAL TRIPS AWAY FROM BONN, WAS TURNED DOWN BY THE SOVIET SIDE ON SECURITY GROUNDS. AT THIS MOMENT, BREZHNEV WILL REMAIN THE ENTIRE FOUR DAYS IN BONN EXCEPT FOR A BRIEF TRIP TO DORTMUND TO VISIT A SOVIET EXHIBITION.

3. THE SECURITY ASPECT OF THE VISIT HAS CAUSED HEADACHES IN BONN, BOTH FOR THE GERMANS AND THE SOVIETS. THE GERMANS HAVE PROVIDED BREZHNEV AND HIS PARTY WITH A RENOVATED HOTEL (THE PETERSBERG) OUTSIDE BONN WHICH AFFORDS A HIGH DEGREE OF PROTECTION BECAUSE OF ITS ISOLATION. THE GERMANS ALSO CARRIED OUT A LARGE- SCALE POLICE ACTION THROUGHOUT THE FRG ON MAY 15 TO ROUND UP ANTI- SOVIET MEMBERS OF THE FAR- OUT RADICAL LEFT. OUR FONOFF SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT THE SECURITY PRECAUTIONS ARE THE MOST STRINGENT EVER ARRANGED FOR ANY FOREIGN DIGNITARY'S VISIT.

4. ONE MAJOR OBSTACLE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE VISIT, I. E. THE HANDLING OF WEST BERLIN IN THE VARIOUS OUTSTANDING BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, HAS BEEN IN LARGE PART REMOVED. THE FONOFF CLEARLY BELIEVES IT HAS WON SOME HARD- FOUGHT VICTORIES ON THE BERLIN ISSUE. THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION, CULTURAL, AND SUPPLEMENTARY CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, WITH WEST BERLIN'S INTERESTS BEING COVERED IN THE MANNER DESCRIBED IN BONN 6809. CONCLUSION OF THE
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SCIENTIFIC- TECHNICAL AGREEMENT IS STILL HANGING ON A SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENT FOR INCLUSION OF WEST BERLIN, BUT OUR SOURCES BELIEVE THAT THIS AGREEMENT TOO MAY BE CONCLUDED PRIOR TO BREZHNEV'S ARRIVAL.

5. THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION (MODELED ON THE US- USSR ENVIRONMENTAL AGREEMENT) HAS

COME A CROPPER IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, BECAUSE OF THE
SOVIET ARGUMENT THAT INCLUSION OF WEST BERLIN WOULD BE
CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF OTHER PARTIES. THE
SOVIETS ARGUED THAT THE GDR HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE
REICHSBAHN, S-BAHN AND THE WATERWAYS IN WEST BERLIN
AND THAT THE FOUR POWERS HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE
AIR TRAFFIC, HENCE A WEST BERLIN CLAUSE IN THE ENVIRON-
MENTAL AGREEMENT WOULD MAKE NO SENSE, UNLESS IT WAS VERY
LIMITED IN SCOPE. OUR SOURCES DO NOT CONSIDER IT POS-
SIBLE TO DRAFT LANGUAGE TO TAKE CARE OF THE SOVIET
ARGUMENTS IN THE TIME REMAINING BEFORE THE VISIT.

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6. THE WORKING OUT OF THE WEST BERLIN PROBLEM HAS LEFT A NOTICEABLE BITTERNESS ON BOTH SIDES. FONOFF SOURCES AND A SOVIET DIPLOMAT TOLD US IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS THAT EACH FELT THE OTHER HAD BEHAVED IN THE MOST CRUDE WAY. OUR FONOFF CONTACTS HAVE SAID THAT BRANDT WILL CERTAINLY RAISE THE MATTER OF BERLIN AND WILL SEEK A MORE RELAXED SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF THE QUADRIPAR-
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TITE AGREEMENT. BUT A SOVIET DIPLOMAT TOLD US THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT EXPECT MUCH IN THIS AREA, STATING THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT INTEND TO PERMIT WEST BERLIN TO BECOME DE FACTO A PART OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

7. APART FROM THE ISSUE OF BERLIN, WHICH BECAME THE CENTER OF SO MUCH ATTENTION IN RECENT WEEKS BECAUSE OF THE BITTER AND CONTINUED DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, THE FONOFF SAID THAT BRANDT WOULD FOCUS ON FRG- GDR RELATIONS, EAST- WEST NEGOTIATIONS, TRADE RELATIONS, AND CERTAIN BILATERAL PROBLEMS. THE FONOFF SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER THE VISIT A SUCCESS IF BREZHNEV CAN BE BROUGHT TO MAKE SOME POSITIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT WEST BERLIN- FRG TIES AND IF HE WILL AGREE TO BRING SOME PRESSURE ON THE GDR TO BE MORE REASONABLE IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRG. OUR SOURCES ARE NOT ENTIRELY OPTIMISTIC THAT MUCH OF LONG-RANGE VALUE IN EITHER AREA WILL BE FORTHCOMING FROM THE SOVIET LEADER, HOWEVER. THE SOVIET DIPLOMAT MENTIONED ABOVE TOLD US THAT THE SOVIETS WERE VERY LIMITED IN HOW FAR THEY COULD OR EVEN WOULD GO ON EITHER MATTER, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE GDR'S INTERESTS AND PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE SOVIETS' OWN VIEW OF THE WORLD.

8. OUR FONOFF SOURCES SAID THEY EXPECTED A FAIRLY STANDARD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS ON CSCE AND MBFR, ALTHOUGH THEY EXPECTED BREZHNEV TO PUSH HARD FOR FRG AGREEMENT TO A FINAL CSCE SUMMIT. OUR CONTACTS THOUGHT BRANDT WOULD HAVE TO BE VERY CAUTIOUS
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ANY REAL CONCESSIONS TO THE USSR IN THE CREDIT FIELD,
ARGUING THAT EXTENSION OF SUCH CREDITS AT THIS TIME WOULD
BADLY HARM THE GOVERNMENT'S RECENTLY ANNOUNCED STABILITY
PROGRAM.

10. COMMENT: DESPITE THE VARIOUS DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED
FOR BOTH SIDES IN GRANTING CONCESSIONS ON MATTERS OF
INTEREST TO EACH OTHER, THE FONOFF NONETHELESS EXPECTS
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THE VISIT TO BE A SUCCESS. THE VERY FACT THAT BREZHNEV
IS COMING IS REGARDED AS A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT IN USSR-
FRG RELATIONS. HOWEVER, OUR SOURCES HAVE ALSO STRESSED
THAT THE VISIT SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED IN IMPORTANCE.
THEY VIEW IT AS SIMPLY ANOTHER STEP, ALBEIT A LARGE ONE,
IN THE FRG'S PROCESS OF NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH THE
EAST. THEY HOPE FOR SOME CONCRETE GAINS, BUT ARE NOT
BANKING ON OBTAINING ALL THEY WANT. IN SOME WAYS, THE
DIFFICULTIES OVER WEST BERLIN QUESTIONS IN RECENT WEEKS
HAVE INJECTED A STRONG ELEMENT OF REALISM INTO WHAT
MIGHT HAVE OTHERWISE BEEN A MORE HIGH- FLOWN MEETING

BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS.

11. ON THE BASIS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS, WE TEND TO BELIEVE THAT THIS VISIT MAY BE SOMEWHAT LONG ON ATMOSPHERE AND FAIRLY SHORT ON CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENTS, APART FROM THE FEW BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE NOT OF MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE. WE WOULD NOT EXCLUDE BREZHNEV' S MAKING A FEW MINOR CONCESSIONS IN THE BERLIN/ GDR AREAS IN ORDER TO KEEP HIS OWN WESTPOLITIK MOVING, BUT WE WOULD NOT EXPECT THESE TO BE LARGE OR LASTING IN NATURE. THEY TOUCH ON JUST TOO SENSITIVE AREAS OF SOVIET INTERESTS FOR THE SOVIETS TO BE ABLE TO GO VERY FAR.
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